LETTERS

ON

PATRIOTISM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

FRENCH ORIGINAL PRINTED AT BERLIN.

By Frederick II., King of Prussia.

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR N. CONANT, FLEET STREET.

MDCCLXXX.

Carl. 215

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may be proper to introduce this little Piece to the Engliſh reader, by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman of rank at Berlin, with which the Tranſlation was ſent over. "The "letters which accompany this, "are at preſent read with the "greateſt avidity throughout "Germany; they were lately "publiſhed at this place in

" French, and are the production
" of our great northern Hero.

" You will give the Tranſlation
" of them to the Public in what-
" ever form you pleaſe. At this
" period, every incitement to
" patriotiſm is laudable; though
" the general conduct of your
" nation, which has juſtly excited
" the admiration of the world
" (I mean the general proofs of
" patriotiſm), ſufficiently ſhew
" how little ſuch incitements are
" wanted.

" In the Tranſlation, I am ap-
" prehenſive, ſome traces may be

" diſcovered of a pen diſuſed in
" its native language; but how-
" ever it may fall ſhort of the
" beautiful ſimplicity and ſpirit
" of the Original, I believe it will
" be found no unfaithful copy
" of the illuſtrious Author's
" meaning."——

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

ANAPISTÆMON and PHILOPATROS.

LETTER I.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

I AM too much impreſſed with the ſenſe of the friendly entertainment I received at your country-ſeat, to defer making you my ſincereſt thanks for your kindneſs and hoſpitality. I experienced, in your ſociety, the two great eſſentials to man's happineſs, liberty and friendſhip.

I left you, indeed, leſt I ſhould weary your indulgence; yet I ſincerely regretted my departure, and the memory of thoſe delightful days I paſſed at your villa will not eaſily be eraſed. But all human pleaſures are ſhort and tranſitory, while the evils and misfortunes of life are commonly but too durable:—however, it is ſome recompence, that the recollection of paſt happineſs gives it a ſort of perpetuity. Hence it is, that ever ſince I left you, my mind has been occupied inſenſibly with what paſſed while I was with you; but more eſpecially with that laſt converſation after ſupper. I only regret, that in ſpeaking of the duties of a citizen, you dwelt ſo much in general views, without entering into a more particular diſcuſſion and detail. You

would gratify me very ſenſibly, by extending your ideas on this moſt important ſubject. It concerns all mankind, and therefore merits to be amply inveſtigated.

I confeſs, for my own part, that the habits of an indolent life, rather diſpoſed to ſenſuality than ſpeculation, have hitherto withheld me from profound reflections on the links of ſociety, and the duties of its members. I conceived that nothing more was required of a man, than to be upright in his dealings, and to reſpect the laws of his country; but I have a confidence in your opinions, which makes me look towards you for the enlargement of my views on this ſubject. There are many other topics in which I might profit by

your inſtruction, but at preſent I wiſh to ſatisfy myſelf with this alone.

All mankind acts—but very few reflect; but you are not of the number of thoſe who act without reflection; on the contrary, you examine and weigh things with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, impartially eſtimating the motives of either ſide, till you are able to deduce ſome important truth on which you may reſt your inquiry. You live, in a manner, among the beſt ancient and modern writers.—You have made yourſelf maſter of their knowledge and erudition; and it is hence that your converſation is ſo engaging and intereſting to your hearers, that they wiſh, in your abſence, to ſupply its place by reading your letters. If

you would gratify my deſire of information in this manner, by communicating to me your reflections, you would add the moſt grateful ſenſe of the obligation to thoſe impreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip which I already entertain.

LETTER II.

PHILOPATROS TO ANAPISTÆMON.

I AM much flattered by your obliging expreſſions, though I am convinced that I owe them more to your politeneſs than to any entertainment I could give you; nevertheleſs, you do but juſtice to my endeavours and wiſhes, though I fear they had by no means the effects I deſired. Inſtead of gay and lively topics of converſation, with which I ſhould have taken care to amuſe you, our diſcourſe, as you may remember, fell inſenſibly upon the graveſt and moſt ſerious ſubjects. I confeſs that it was I who led to theſe ſubjects. Living as I do a ſedentary

life, and being moreover ſomething of a valetudinarian, and retired from the world, I have acquired, by continual reading, an habitual abſtractedneſs of thinking, which has baniſhed my former vivacity, and ſubſtituted a grave and ſerious turn in its place. Many things paſſed in our converſation which I now again perfectly recollect. My mind at that time was filled with ideas of thoſe commonwealths which I had read of in hiſtory, Athens and Sparta, and of thoſe duties which in every ſtate are the objects of a good citizen. In requiring me to lay down theſe duties with preciſion, and in detail, you do me too much honour. I have never been a legiſlator, nor did I ever interfere in any other government than that of my own eſtate, on which

I have long lived in retirement; yet you addreſs me as if I was a Lycurgus, or a Solon. Believe me, it is with a deſire of obeying your injunctions, not with any pretenſion to inſtruct you, that I now endeavour to ſatisfy your enquiry.

True philoſophy requires, and with good reaſon, that we ſhould begin every diſcuſſion with definitions of the things treated of, and the terms which we employ, that we may eſcape confuſion in our ideas. That I may conform to this precept, I begin by defining a good citizen to be, *one whoſe invariable principle it is to be as uſeful as he can to the community of which he is a member*. Having ſtated this definition, we are next to conſider how his duties

are to be deduced, and what they are.

Man is not formed to exiſt without ſociety; the moſt ſavage nations that have come to our knowledge, have always been found already formed into ſome ſort of tribes or clans. Nations that are in any degree civilized, are united by more definite and ſolemn conventions, and are bound to mutual aſſiſtance and ſupport. This becomes a duty, and is moreover the intereſt of each individual, tending at the ſame time to the good of the whole. If this mutual aſſiſtance was ſuſpended or withdrawn, confuſion muſt follow, and in the end, deſtruction to individuals, and ſubverſion of the ſtate. Theſe principles are not new; they have been the

principles upon which all thoſe ancient ſtates of which we have any account were formed. The commonwealths of *Greece* and *Rome* were framed on the ſame model. If we have ſeen them at length extinct and obliterated, we muſt attribute it to the inordinate jealouſy and turbulent ambition of ſome of their members. The Greeks, by their civil diſcontents, paved the way to their own downfal; and the Romans became the prey of ſome artful and ambitious men, who got power enough to ſubvert the equality of a republic. But farther than all this, we muſt conſider the natural inſtability and viciſſitudes of all ſublunary eſtabliſhments. However, if we recur to hiſtory, we ſhall find that the declenſion of theſe ſtates is chiefly to be imputed to their own citizens,

who, by a ſelfiſh preference of their perſonal intereſt to that of their country, broke through the ſocial compact, and became enemies to their own community. I think it was an obſervation of yours, that virtuous citizens were only to be found in republics, and not in monarchies. I would wiſh to ſet you right in that point.

Good monarchies, founded on principles of prudence and philanthropy, conſtitute in our times a ſpecies of government approaching much more to ariſtocracy than to deſpotiſm; in fact, it is the LAWS only that reign in ſuch a government.

Let us conſider this matter a little: —If we reckon up the perſons who have a ſhare in the ſeveral councils, in

the adminiſtration of juſtice, in the finances, in foreign miſſions, in commerce, in the army, in the interior *police* of the nation; add moreover all thoſe who have votes in the provinces; all theſe in ſome degree partake of the ſovereign authority. The Prince, in ſuch a ſtate, is far from a deſpotic and arbitrary governor, acting only from his caprice; he is only the central point in which all the *radii* of the circle concur. In this form of government only, it is poſſible for deliberations to be managed with a ſecrecy unattainable in republics, and for the different branches of adminiſtration to proceed, like the *quadrigæ* of the Romans, marching abreaſt, and concurring equally to the general welfare. If the Prince is endued with firmneſs, there will be

much leſs room for faction than in republics, which are ſo often ruined and ſubverted by the iniquitous intrigues and confederacies of the citizens againſt each other.

If among the monarchies in Europe there is an exception to the general principles I have aſſerted, it may be that of the *Ottoman* empire, which does not ſufficiently unite the intereſt of the Sovereign with that of the individuals in the ſtate. A well governed empire ſhould reſemble a family, of which the Prince may be conſidered as the father, and the people as his children; he ſhould participate in their happineſs and their calamity; for a good Prince cannot be happy while his people are otherwiſe. From this union of intereſt,

good and grateful citizens are to be produced; citizens too ſtrictly bound to the State to be diverted from their attachment to it, as they would have every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain, by deſerting it. The government of Sparta was an oligarchy or ariſtocracy; it produced many illuſtrious characters; men firmly attached to their country. Rome, after the abolition of the republic, holds forth an *Agrippa*, a *Thraſca Pætus*, an *Helvidius Priſcus*, an *Agricola*, with thoſe excellent Princes *Titus*, *M. Aurelius*, *Trajan*, *Julian*, and a number of other genuine and patriotic characters, who preferred the public intereſt to their own. But whither am I imperceptibly dilating this ſubject? I intended you a letter, which is becoming a diſſerta-

tion. I entreat you to pardon me, and to believe that I have been ſeduced by the pleaſure I feel in conferring with you, to a prolixity which I fear has wearied your attention. Be aſſured in the mean time, that among thoſe who belong to that ſtate under which I live, there is no one whom I ſhould be more ſolicitous to ſerve and oblige.

I am, with all poſſible eſteem, &c.

LETTER III.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

I Return you my ſincereſt thanks for the trouble you have taken to explain to me a ſubject, of which I had but a very vague idea, and had indeed but very little conſidered. Inſtead of finding your letter too long, it rather appeared to me too ſhort; for, I perceive, you have ſtill many things in ſtore to explain to me. In the mean time, do not think it ſtrange, if I ſhould make ſome objections. I will beg of you to enlighten my ignorance, to deſtroy my prejudices, or confirm my ideas, ſhould they be juſt. —Is it poſſible for us to have a real

affection for our mother-country? Might not this ſo called affection be rather invented by ſome philoſopher, or by ſome fanatic or enthuſiaſtic law-giver, to exact from men a perfection which is not within their reach? How can one love the people in common? how ſacrifice one's ſelf for the welfare of a province belonging to our monarchy, when one never ſaw this province?—This tends to explain, how it is poſſible for any one to entertain a fervent and enthuſiaſtical affection for what he has not the leaſt knowledge of.—Theſe reflections, which thus naturally preſent themſelves to the mind, had perſuaded me, that the moſt proper part a ſenſible man could take, would be to vegetate quietly, without concern and care, and with as little

trouble as poſſible to prepare for the grave, to which at laſt we all deſcend. In conformity to this plan I have always directed the conduct of my life. —I happened one day to meet Profeſſor Garbojos, whoſe good qualities you know. We diſcourſed upon this ſubject, and he anſwered me with that vivacity, which is peculiar to him: "I congratulate you, Sir, on your being ſo great a philoſopher." "I, Sir! ſaid I to him; I never was acquainted with theſe good people, nor have I even read any of their opinions. My whole library, you ſee, is compoſed of few books; you will find among them no other than the Complete Farmer, the News-papers, and the Almanack for the current year; theſe, I think, are quite ſufficient."—"You

abound, however, continued he, in maxims of Epicurus, and I expected to hear you had frequented his gardens."—" I know nothing of Epicurus, nor his gardens, ſaid I; but this Epicurus, what did he teach? pray tell me."—My Profeſſor now aſſuming an air of dignity, addreſſed to me the following ſpeech: " *Les beaux Eſprits ſe rencontrent*; I ſee Monſieur le Baron thinks exactly like a great philoſopher. —Epicurus directed his ſage, never to interfere in the affairs of others, nor in thoſe of government. His motives for ſuch directions were, that the mind of the ſage might retain that tranquillity, in which he makes all happineſs to conſiſt. This mind, or this rational ſoul, ought not therefore to be expoſed to the danger of agitation by cha-

grin, or anger, or other paſſions, which are inſeparable from care and application to buſineſs; it is conſequently better to avoid every embarraſſment, every diſagreeable incumbrance; to let the world take its courſe, and look to one's own preſervation."—"Good God! ſaid I to him, how I am charmed with this Epicurus! pray, lend me his book."—"We have, replied the Profeſſor, no complete ſyſtem of his doctrines, only ſome ſcattered fragments; Lucretius gives us part of his ſyſtem in an elegant poem. We meet with ſcraps too of his opinions in the works of Cicero, who being of a different ſect, controverts and takes to pieces all his aſſertions."—You cannot imagine, how much I was pleaſed with having found

within myſelf what an ancient Greek philoſopher taught three thouſand years ago. This confirms me more and more in my ſentiments. I congratulate myſelf on my independence. I am free; I am my own maſter, my own ſovereign, my own king. I leave to turbulent fools the dreams of deceitful grandeur; I laugh at the covetouſneſs of miſers, who accumulate empty treaſures, which they cannot carry from this world with them; and proud of the advantages which I enjoy, I put myſelf above all the world. —I flatter myſelf you will give me credit for thinking like a philoſopher, whom I never ſaw or read.—Nature alone can have created this conformity of opinions; and they, therefore, muſt be true.—Be ſo kind as to tell

me what are your ſentiments on this ſubject; we may perhaps agree. But however that may happen, nothing can ever weaken the ſentiments of eſteem and friendſhip, with which I am, &c.

LETTER IV.

PHILOPATROS TO ANAPISTÆMON.

I Thought, my dear friend, to have ſatisfied your curioſity, by explaining to you my opinions reſpecting the duties of citizens in their affinity and connection; but lo! there is more in queſtion. I perceive your deſign; you want to ſet me at variance with Epicurus. As the adverſary is not rude, I do not refuſe the engagement; and once having entered the liſts, I will do my beſt to run the race.—To prevent matters being confounded, I ſhall follow your objections in the order I find them in your letter. I ſhall be-

gin with remarking, that it is not ſufficient for an honeſt man, not to be criminal; he ought to be virtuous. If he does not tranſgreſs the laws, he avoids puniſhment; but if he is neither ſerviceable, nor officious, nor uſeful, he is without merit, and muſt conſequently diſclaim all pretenſion to the public eſteem. You will therefore agree with me, that a man's own advantage engages him not to ſeparate himſelf from ſociety, but rather to contribute and co-operate in whatever may be uſeful and ſalutary to it.—Can you think that patriotiſm, or affection for one's country, is but an ideal virtue, when ſo many inſtances in all hiſtory prove the great events this patriotiſm has produced, by inſpiring illuſtrious men to thoſe glorious ex-

ploits which raiſed them above humanity? The welfare of ſociety is your welfare; you are, without knowing it, ſo ſtrongly united to your country, that you can neither detach yourſelf nor ſtand ſeparate from it, without repenting of your fault. If government proſpers, you proſper likewiſe; if it ſuffers, the recoil of its misfortune falls on you. In like manner, if the citizens are affluent, the ſovereign lives in proſperity; and if the citizens are oppreſſed with calamities, the ſituation of the prince deſerves compaſſion. Patriotiſm therefore is *real*, and by no means an imaginary thing. It is not your houſes, your woods, or your fields, which I call your country; but your parents, your wife, your children, your friends, and thoſe who

toil for your happineſs in the different branches of adminiſtration, and who render you daily ſervices, without your giving yourſelf the trouble to inquire into their labours.—Theſe are the ties which unite you to ſociety.—The intereſt of the perſons whom you are in duty bound to love, your own intereſt, and that of government, which are indiſſolubly linked together, properly compoſe what we call the general good of the whole community.—You ſay, that it is not in nature to love the populace, or the inhabitants of a province, which you never ſaw. You are in the right, if you mean by the words, love and affection, the intimate union of friends; but the queſtion relates only to that ſort of kindneſs and benevolence towards the people, which we owe indeed

to the world in general, but more particularly to thoſe who inhabit the ſame ſoil, and are aſſociated with us. With regard to provinces, are we not bound to ſhew them thoſe good offices which we owe even to allies?—Suppoſe that in your preſence a ſtranger falls into a river, would you quietly ſtand by and give him no aſſiſtance? If you ſhould ſee a paſſenger on the road, whom an aſſaſſin was about to murder, would you not endeavour to ſave his life?—Theſe are the ſentiments of humanity which nature has implanted in our ſouls, which, as it were by inſtinct, prompt us to give mutual aſſiſtance to each other, and point out to us the duties which all men owe to all mankind. I conclude then, if aid and aſſiſtance are due from us to ſtrangers, much more

do we owe them to men joined to us by a ſocial pact and convention. Permit me to add a word or two more on the provinces belonging to our monarchy, to which you ſeem ſo very indifferent.—Do you not conceive, if government were to loſe thoſe provinces, it would be weakened; that, the reſources which it drew from them failing, it would be leſs in a ſituation to aſſiſt you in caſe of need than at preſent? You obſerve, my dear friend, by what I explained to you, that the combinations of the ſtate politic are very extenſive, and that no one without ſome pains can form a juſt idea of them. —Another new poſition I cannot paſs by in ſilence. How can you, who are endowed with ſenſe and talents, venture to aſſert, that the vegetation of plants

is preferable to an animal activity? Is it poſſible for a ſenſible man to prefer a ſluggiſh and ſhameful reſt to an honourable employ; a ſlothful, effeminate, uſeleſs life, to virtuous actions, which render the name of him who performs them immortal?—It is certain we are all moving towards our grave; that is a common law; but a difference between the dead is this: ſome are forgotten as ſoon as they are buried; thoſe who have defiled themſelves with guilt, are long remembered with contempt; but virtuous citizens, who were uſeful to their country, are yet after death highly exalted, and, with benedictions heaped upon them, ſet forth as examples to poſterity, and their names go down in honour to the lateſt times.

In which of theſe three claſſes do you wiſh to be compriſed? After what I have ſaid, you cannot expect that your Epicurus, though ſo eminent a Greek, ſhould impoſe upon me.—In order to refute him effectually, I beg leave to comment upon his own words: "The "philoſopher ought neither to interfere "in foreign buſineſs, nor in the affairs "of government." I grant it, if he is the inhabitant of a deſert iſland.—"His "*impaſſible* ſoul muſt not be expoſed to "any paſſion, nor to any ill humour, "nor to any jealouſy, nor anger."—Here you ſee Epicurus, the teacher of voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual pleaſure, recommending a Stoic *impaſſibility*: the contrary of all this he ought to teach. It is not enough to avoid opportunities; but when every thing around ſpurs on

and excites variety of paſſions, to preſerve a tranquillity of mind in thoſe moments, is the proper effort of a ſage. A pilot has no reaſon to value himſelf upon his ſkill in conducting a veſſel in a calm; but when he has brought his ſhip through hurricanes and ſtorms ſafe into port, it is then that we commend his ſkill. No one takes notice of actions eaſily performed, but difficulties ſurmounted deſerve eſteem.—"It "is," you ſay, "the beſt way to let "the world take its courſe, and not "think of any thing but of one's ſelf." —Alas! Mr. Epicurus! are theſe the ſentiments of a philoſopher? Is not the welfare of mankind the principal thing you ought to think of? You preſume to aſſert too, "that it is the duty of "every man to love himſelf alone."—

Would not a man, were he unfortunately to follow your maxims, be univerſally and juſtly deteſted? If I regard no man, how can I look for any man's affection? Do you not conceive, that I ſhould be looked upon by every one as a dangerous monſter, whom it would be lawful, for the maintenance of the public ſafety, to deſtroy? Without friendſhip, what would be the condition of human life? In order to throw a clearer light on this ſubject, permit me to have recourſe to an allegory; let us compare whatever ſtate you pleaſe with the human body.—It is from the activity and unanimous confluence of all its parts, that its health, its ſtrength, its vigour, are derived; the veins, the arteries, and even the fineſt fibres of the nerves, co-operate to its

animal exiſtence. Should the periſtaltic motion of the ſtomach become weak, and the vermicular movement of the bowels not be reinforced; the lungs loſe their aſpiration, the heart its dilatation and contraction; if, in ſhort, every valve of the arteries ſhould not open and cloſe for the circulation of the blood; and if the nervous fluid were not carried to the parts of contraction required for action; the body would fall into languor, it would gradually decay, and the inactivity of its parts occaſion a total diſſolution.—This body is the ſtate; you and all the citizens, who belong to it, are its members. You ſee therefore, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for each individual to fulfil his part for the proſperity of the whole body. What becomes now of

that fortunate independence which you have been ſo much preaching up? It only makes you a paralytic member of the body to which you belong. You will, moreover, obſerve, if you pleaſe, that your philoſopher confounds the cleareſt ideas. He recommends ſloth and idleneſs as virtues, when, on the contrary, they are acknowledged by all the world to be vices.—Is it worthy of a philoſopher to excite us to a loſs of time, which of all our poſſeſſions is the moſt precious, continually flying from us, and never to be regained?—Ought he to encourage us to abandon ourſelves to idleneſs, to neglect our duties, to become uſeleſs to all the world, and a burthen to ourſelves? An ancient proverb ſays, Idleneſs is the ſource of all evil; to which one may well add,

Labour is the fountain of all virtue.—This is a conſtant truth, confirmed and atteſted by the experience of all ages. This, I think, is ſufficient for Epicurus; it now remains for me to examine into your own opinions.—Condemn the ambitious, I conſent to it; reprove the miſer, I ſubſcribe to it. But can that be a reaſon for your ſuffering yourſelf to be prevailed on by ill-digeſted opinions, and pitiful prejudices, to refuſe your endeavours to contribute, in common with your fellow-citizens, to the public good? You are poſſeſſed of all the requiſites for it; underſtanding, integrity, and talents; and as nature has given you every advantage, you are inexcuſable if you leave the favours which ſhe has heaped upon you unemployed.—You boaſt of

your independence, your imaginary royalty, and that liberty which you pretend to enjoy, and which, you ſay, ſets you above all the world. I applaud you, if by your independence you mean the command you have over yourſelf, and by your royalty the government of your paſſions; for then indeed you are raiſed above many of your equals, if an ardent affection for virtue animates you, and if you devote and dedicate to it every day, nay, every moment of your life. Without theſe correctives, the independence in which you glory, is nothing more than an inclination and love of ſloth, ennobled by fine epithets; and this inactivity, which you inceſſantly extol, does not only make you an uſeleſs being, but the natural conſequence of it is

heavineſs and languor. Add to this, the cenſure of an injured public, prone at beſt to ſlander, which will mark your indolence in its true colours, and take a large revenge for the indifference with which you have looked upon the public welfare.—If all this does not amend you, I muſt quote a paſſage from Scripture: "Thou ſhalt gain thy "bread in the ſweat of thy brow."—We are born to labour. This is ſo true, that, out of an hundred perſons, there are ninety-eight conſtantly in action, to two who pride themſelves on their inutility; and though there are people fools enough to extend their vanity to idleneſs, and ſit the whole day long with their arms acroſs, yet there are thoſe likewiſe who employ themſelves in buſineſs, as the ſureſt means of hap-

pineſs; and indeed the mind of man is always in want of ſomething to engage and to employ it. Without this, wearineſs overwhelms it, and renders its exiſtence an intolerable burden.—I ſpeak to you here without reſerve, becauſe you are fond of truth; you deſerve to be made acquainted with it, and I love you too ſincerely to ſuppreſs any thing from your knowledge. The only view I aim at, is to give you to your country, an inſtrument of public ſervice and utility. The principle of every good government, ancient and modern, was zeal for the public welfare; it formed the baſis of their grandeur and proſperity; the certain conſequences derived from it were good men, and ſuch magnanimous and virtuous individuals as were the glory

and ſupport of their country. Excuſe the length of this letter. The ſubject would not be exhauſted in many volumes; but it is ſufficient to ſhew you the truth, to remove that inattention and prejudice, which ought to be foreign to ſuch an underſtanding as your's. I am, &c.

LETTER V.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

I Have peruſed your letter with the attention it juſtly merits. I am ſurpriſed at the multitude of arguments with which you endeavour to oppreſs me. You are determined, it ſeems, to conquer and get the better of me and my opinions, and to carry them in proceſſion, enchained to your triumphal car. I confeſs there is much energy in the arguments you employ, and that it would coſt me great pains to refute them effectually.—To diſcourage me the ſooner, you ſay my heart is impoſed on by my underſtand-

ing; that I plead the cauſe of idleneſs; and that I dignify this vice, by lending it ſeducing appearances of moderation, or a ſimilar virtue.—I agree with you in opinion, that idleneſs is a defect; that one ought to be ſerviceable and officious towards all the world; that though there is no neceſſity to love the generality in the manner one does relations, yet one ought not only to intereſt one's ſelf in their welfare, but likewiſe be as uſeful to them as poſſible. —I conceive, that no misfortune could happen to the community to which I belong, without feeling the effects myſelf, and that the individuals could not be diſtreſſed, without the detriment reſulting from it being heavily felt by the ſtate. In theſe reſpects I give up the cauſe; I will moreover grant, that

thoſe who have a ſhare in the public adminiſtration, alſo partake of the ſovereign authority.—But what concern can I have in all that? I am without vanity, and without ambition. What motive could I have for charging myſelf with a burden, which I am not inclined to bear, and for intruding myſelf into buſineſs, whilſt I live happy without a thought ever occurring to me to interfere therein? You own yourſelf, that an extravagant, overſtrained ambition borders upon vice.—You ſhould therefore applaud me for not giving myſelf up to it, and not require me to forſake my ſweet tranquillity, in order to expoſe myſelf wantonly to every caprice and ſport of fortune.—Ah! my dear friend, how could you give me ſuch advice? Repreſent to

yourſelf in the moſt lively colours the rigour of the yoke you deſire to lay on me! what uneaſineſs it drags along with it, and what troubleſome conſequences reſult from it! In my preſent ſituation, I am not reſponſible to any one but myſelf for my conduct; I am ſole judge of my own actions; I have an handſome income, and am under no neceſſity to earn my bread in the ſweat of my brow, as you ſay our firſt parents were deſtined to do.—Would it not be folly in me, enjoying the liberty I do, were I to make myſelf anſwerable to others for my conduct? It might be done from vanity; but by that I am not influenced; or, for the purpoſe of obtaining a ſalary; that I am not in want of.—But ſhould

I notwithſtanding, without any reaſon, embark myſelf in unpleaſant and fatiguing buſineſs, which requires a laborious attention; for what ſhould I take this pain upon me? To ſubmit myſelf to the judgment of ſome ſuperior, whom I am neither required nor inclined to depend on; while there are multitudes of perſons, who are daily ſoliciting for ſuch employments. Why would you have me range myſelf among theſe competitors? Whether I am concerned or not, affairs will equally have their courſe.—However, permit me to add a ſtill ſtronger argument than theſe. Point out to me that country in Europe, where merit is always ſure of its reward. Shew me where merit is acknowledged, and juſtice done it. Ah! how grievous

muſt it be to any one, after having ſacrificed his time, his repoſe, his health, in offices, to be at laſt ſet aſide, or, what is ſtill leſs ſupportable, diſgraced!—Inſtances of this adverſity crowd upon my mind; and though your incitements might ſpur me on to take the field, yet this conſideration alone would deter me from the race. You ſee, my friend, I frankly open my mind to you; which I do the more readily, as it is not a diſpute that ſubſiſts between us. Each offers his own ſentiments, and truth and reaſon will prevail. I expect you will ſoon give me matter for new reflections, which I ſhall not fail to acknowledge. I am, with affectionate eſteem, &c.

LETTER VI.

PHILOPATROS TO ANAPISTÆMON.

I Glory, my dear friend, in having removed ſome of your prejudices; they are indeed pernicious, and one cannot endeavour too much to deſtroy them.—You are right in ſaying, that really no diſpute ſubſiſts between us; we offer arguments, of which the moſt ſubſtantial will outweigh the reſt. We diſcuſs a ſubject, in ſearch of truth, in order to place ourſelves on the ſide of clear reaſon and conviction. My arguments, believe me, are by no means yet exhauſted.—On peruſing your letters again, a number of new ideas

occur to me, and I ſhall exhibit them to you in the cleareſt and ſhorteſt manner I can. With your leave, therefore, I begin with explaining to you, what it is I underſtand by the ſocial covenant, which is properly a tacit convention of all the citizens under one and the ſame government; by which they are bound to concur and contribute, with an equal ardor, to the general welfare of the community.—It is thence that the duties of individuals are derived, of whom every one, according to his means, ſubſtance, talents, and rank, is in duty bound to intereſt himſelf in, and contribute to, the proſperity of their common country. The calls of life, and that intereſt which operates upon the minds of the people, oblige every

one of them who regards his own preſervation, to labour for the welfare of his fellow-citizens; hence proceeds the culture of the land, of vineyards and gardens, attention to the cattle, and the promotion of manufactures and commerce; hence the number of brave and valiant defenders of their native land, who ſacrifice for it, eaſe, and health, and life.—But even ſuppoſing perſonal intereſt to be in part the principle of this noble activity, are there not ſtill more powerful motives than intereſt to rouſe and excite it in thoſe whom illuſtrious birth and more exalted ſentiments ought to attach to their country? A regard to duty, zeal for honour, and a love of glory, are the moſt powerful ſprings which actuate

truly virtuous minds.—Is it to be imagined, that wealth ſhould ſerve as a ſhield to ſloth? and that the more poſſeſſions you have, the leſs obligations you are under to government? Thoſe aſſertions are unwarrantable; they proceed from a heart of ſtone; from a man who, void of all feeling, lives but to himſelf, and regarding none other, ſeparates from thoſe with whom his duty, his intereſt, and his honour are united. Hercules, that Hercules the fable repreſents, is not formidable while ſingle, but becomes ſo only when his aſſociates aſſiſt and ſuccour him.—This reaſoning, perhaps, may tire you. I will bring ſome examples from antiquity, and principally from republics, for which, I obſerve, you have a ſingular predilection. I ſhall

cite ſome ſelect paſſages out of the Philippics of Demoſthenes.—" It " is ſaid, Athenians, that Philip is " dead; but what does it ſignify, " whether he be dead or alive? I tell " you, Athenians, I repeat it to you, " you will ſoon create for yourſelves " another Philip, by your negligence, " by your indolence, and by the little " attention you pay to the moſt im- " portant affairs."—This will at leaſt convince you of this orator's ſentiments coinciding with mine; but I ſhall not confine myſelf to this paſſage only.—In another place, ſpeaking of the king of Macedon, he ſays, " He, " who is obſerved to be always full " of zeal and activity, will be ever " beloved;" and adds, " If, there-

" fore, Athenians, you are, at leaſt
" at preſent, of the ſame ſentiments
" (for your actions have not ſhown
" any as yet); if each of you, when
" ſuch qualities are wanted and may
" be uſeful, ſetting aſide all idle pre-
" tences, is diſpoſed to ſerve the
" republic; the opulent in contri-
" buting to this ſervice by their
" wealth, the young men by giving
" their own perſons to the ſtate; if
" each is willing to act as for himſelf,
" forbearing to flatter himſelf that
" others will act for him, whilſt he
" himſelf remains idle; you will,
" with the aſſiſtance of the gods,
" re-eſtabliſh your affairs, and reco-
" ver what negligence and inattention
" have made you loſe."—Here is
another paſſage, which contains al-

moſt the ſame, taken from a ſpeech held for government: " Hearken, " Athenians! the public treaſure, " which is now waſted in ſuperfluous " expences, ſhould be equitably di- " vided for the public ſervice, and " you ſhould make yourſelves per- " ſonally uſeful:—thoſe among you " who are of age to bear arms, by " military ſervice; thoſe who have " paſſed the age of military duty, by " offices in the adminiſtration of juſ- " tice and policy, or by other public " employments.—You ſhould ſerve " yourſelves, and not transfer to any " perſon whomſoever this function of " a citizen: You ſhould compoſe of " yourſelves an army, which might " be called the Army of the Repub- " lic; it is by this you will perform

" what your country requires of " you."—This is what Demoſthenes required from the citizens of Athens; and theſe were the ſentiments entertained at Sparta, although in both theſe ſtates the form of government was oligarchical.—This conformity of ſentiments was founded on the plain principle, that no ſtate, of whatever nature, can proſper, unleſs the citizens unanimouſly contribute to the ſupport of it.—Let us now review the examples with which the Roman republic has furniſhed us; the number of them makes it rather difficult to chuſe.—I ſhall not ſpeak either of Mucius Scævola; or of old Brutus, who, to ſave the public liberty, ſigned the death-warrant of his own ſon: but can I paſs over in ſilence Attilius

Regulus, and that magnanimity with which he ſuffered death, on his return to Carthage, ſacrificing his own intereſt to that of the republic? Next to him comes Scipio Africanus.—That war, which Hannibal carried on in Italy, was tranſported by Scipio into Africa; and he put a glorious end to it, by a deciſive victory over the Carthaginians.—After him appears Cato the Cenſor, Paulus Emilius who ſubdued Perſeus, and that zealous defender of the commonwealth, Cato of Utica.—Can I forget to mention Cicero, who ſaved his endangered country from the ſanguinary plot of Catiline; that Cicero, who alone defended the expiring liberty of the republic, and at laſt periſhed with it?—Theſe inſtances prove the power

of patriotiſm on the warm and generous mind of a good citizen.—His enthuſiaſtic ſpirit finds nothing impoſſible, and riſes ſwiftly to heroiſm. Praiſes have been heaped upon the memory of theſe great men in all ages; and the centuries that have paſſed ſince their time, have not been able to diminiſh the veneration in which their names are held.—Theſe, you ſee, are models worthy of imitation in all nations, and in all governments. But it ſeems as if this race of manly ſouls, of men replete with vigour and virtue, were extinct and gone.—Love of glory has been diſplaced by effeminacy; vigilance by idleneſs; and a deſpicable private intereſt has deſtroyed, and made away with, all patriotiſm.—Do not believe that I confine

myſelf only to the examples with which we are furniſhed by republics. I can produce many from the records of monarchical ſtates.—France can glory in her great men; in her Bayards, her Bertrans; in a Gueſclin, a Cardinal d' Amboiſe, a Duke de Guiſe who ſaved Picardy; Henry IV., Cardinal de Richelieu, Sully; and, before thoſe times, in that excellent and virtuous citizen, the Preſident De l'Hoſpital; afterwards in Turenne, Condé, Colbert, Luxembourg, Villars; in ſhort, in a multitude of great men, the names of whom alone this letter would not contain.—Let us paſs over to England, where, without ſpeaking of Alfred, and men of remoter centuries, I ſhall look to modern times, and point out to you a

Marlborough, a Stanhope, a Bolingbroke, a Pitt, names that will never periſh.—The energy and ſtrength of Germany appeared in full light during the war of thirty years.—Bernard of Weimar, the Duke of Brunſwick, and other princes, ſignalized their courage; the Landgravine of Heſſe, then regent of that country, her firmneſs.—I muſt own, at preſent, we are contemporaries with men of leſſer ſpirit. The age for men of genius and virtue has paſſed away: but if, in thoſe times ſo glorious to humanity, men of merit were, by a noble emulation, made uſeful to their country, why do not you, poſſeſſing their qualifications, follow their illuſtrious example? Lay the wretched excuſes, which indolence ſuggeſts to

you, generouſly aſide; and if your heart is ſuſceptible of benevolence, prove by your ſervices, that you entertain an affection for the country to which you owe both gratitude and duty.—You ſay, you are not ambitious. I approve it; but I blame you for being without emulation: it is a virtue, to be willing to ſurpaſs in noble actions thoſe with whom we run the ſame career.—A man whom indolence prevents from acting, is like a ſtatue of marble, or a bronze, perpetually remaining in the attitude in which the ſculptor placed it.—Action diſtinguiſhes and raiſes us above the vegetable creation. Indolence and inactivity put us on a level with them.—Let us farther proceed to facts, and in a direct manner attack the motives

by which you think to juſtify your uſeleſſneſs, and your indifference for the public welfare.—You ſay, you will not make yourſelf reſponſible to any adminiſtration whatever. This excuſe is neither plauſible nor becoming in you; the ſound of it would be leſs grating from the mouth of a man diffident of his poor abilities; who is conſcious of ſtupidity, or afraid of loſing his reputation.—But you, who have ſpirit, and knowledge, and polite manners, can you thus expreſs yourſelf? What judgment would the public form of a man from whom ſuch evaſions came?—Farther, you ſay that you are not now anſwerable to any one for your conduct. Are you not reſponſible for it to the public? from the penetrating eye of which nothing

is free. You will be accuſed either of idleneſs or inſenſibility; it will be ſaid, that you ſuffer your capacity to lie dormant; that you hide your talents; and that, indifferent to the reſt of the world, your attachment is concentered within your own perſon.—You add, you have no occaſion to ſerve, becauſe you are rich. I grant, that you need not carry on any trade or profeſſion for your ſubſiſtence; but your being rich is the very reaſon why you, more than another, are obliged to ſhew your attachment and gratitude to your country, by ſerving it with zeal and diſintereſtedneſs. —The leſs you need, the more merit you have. The ſervices of ſome proceed from indigence; your labours would be gratuitous.—You afterwards

weary me with old beaten phraſes, ſuch as, that merit is little known, and leſs rewarded; and that, after having for a long time ſpent all your care and attention in offices, you nevertheleſs run the riſque of being either ſet aſide, or even, without your fault, diſgraced.—My anſwer to this is very plain. I am convinced you have merits; diſplay them, and be aſſured, that people in this century, as has been the practice of preceding ages, when good actions are performed, will repay a due tribute of praiſe and commendation.—The voice of the world was, as it were, unanimous with regard to Prince Eugene. His talents, his virtues, and his great exploits are ſtill admired. When Count Saxe had finiſhed his glorious campaign of Lafeld, all Paris ſignified their gra-

titude. France will never forget the obligations which it owes to Colbert's miniſtry; the memory of this great man will laſt longer than the Louvre.—England glories in Newton, and Germany in Leibnitz.—Will you have more modern examples?—Pruſſia honours and venerates the name of its great Chancellor Cocceji, who reformed its laws with ſo much wiſdom; and what ſhall I ſay of many other great men, who have deſervedly had their ſtatues erected in the public places of Berlin? If theſe illuſtrious dead had entertained ſentiments like your's, poſterity would have remained for ever ignorant of their exiſtence.—You add, that ſo many perſons ſolicit for poſts, that it would be ſuperfluous in you to enter the ſame liſts.—In this your argu-

ment is deficient. If the world thought like you, the neceſſary conſequence would be, that all places would remain empty, and conſequently all poſts and employments be vacant. Your principles, therefore, were they generally received, would only tend to introduce intolerable abuſes into ſociety. But in ſhort, ſuppoſing that by ſome flagrant injuſtice, after you had well acquitted yourſelf of your charge, any diſgrace ſhould happen to you, is there not a great conſolation left in the good teſtimony of your own conſcience, which alone is ſufficient to pacify you? but be aſſured, the voice of the public would certainly render you juſtice.— If you require it, I will quote you a multitude of examples of great men, whoſe reputation, far from being di-

miniſhed, has been augmented by miſfortune. I will give you ſome examples, taken from republics. In the war which Xerxes carried on againſt the Greeks, Themiſtocles doubly ſaved the Athenians, by making them abandon their walls, and by gaining the famous battle of Salamis; he afterwards rebuilt their walls, and formed the port of Piræus. This, however, did not prevent his being baniſhed by the law of Oſtraciſm *.—He ſupported his misfortune magnanimouſly; and his

* *Oſtraciſm*, from οστρακον a ſhell, on which the perſon's name was written who was to be baniſhed; a method taken by the Athenians to baniſh ſuch perſons in their ſtate, whoſe great power, abilities, or merit, rendered them capable of attempting any thing which might endanger the conſtitution.

reputation, inſtead of ſuffering was increaſed, and his name is frequently quoted in hiſtory with thoſe of the greateſt men Greece ever produced. Ariſtides, called the Juſt, experienced nearly the ſame fate; he was baniſhed, afterwards recalled, but always equally eſteemed for his wiſdom; and after his death the Athenians granted a penſion to his daughters, who were in want of ſubſiſtence.—Muſt I likewiſe remind you of the immortal Cicero, who was conſpired againſt and exiled for having ſaved his country? Muſt I repeat to you all the violences which Clodius, his enemy, exerciſed againſt this Conſul and his relations? But he was recalled by the unanimous voice of the Roman people, and theſe are the expreſſions he uſed on the occaſion: " I

" was not ſimply recalled; my fellow-
" citizens carried me into Rome upon
" their ſhoulders, and my return into
" my country was in reality a triumph."
—Misfortune cannot diſgrace a wiſe man; for it may equally befal the honeſt and diſhoneſt citizen, and nothing but our crimes can diſgrace us. The reſult of this is, that, inſtead of ſuffering yourſelf to be reſtrained by inſtances of perſecuted virtue from ſignalizing yourſelf, they ſhould rather be a ſpur to your emulation.—I therefore excite and encourage you to perform your duties, to diſplay your abilities, and to prove by the effect, that your heart is grateful to your country, and that you are willing to run the career of glory in which you are worthy to appear.—Either I ſhall loſe my time

and trouble, or I ſhall perſuade you that my ſentiments are more juſt than yours, and ſuch only as become a man of your rank and birth. I love my country ardently.—It is to her I owe my education, my fortune, my exiſtence, my all.—Had I a thouſand lives, I ſhould with pleaſure ſacrifice them all, if I could thereby render her any ſervice, and ſhow her my gratitude.—My friend Cicero ſays in one of his letters: *I believe I can never be too grateful.*—I think myſelf happy in being animated with the ſame ſentiment towards my country. I hope, when you have maturely conſidered the arguments I now lay before you, inſtead of entertaining different opinions of the conduct ſuitable and becoming an honeſt man, we ſhall rather mu-

tually encourage each other to accompliſh it in the character of a good citizen, attached to his country with that tenderneſs and zeal which it is his duty to poſſeſs.—You laid objections before me, and I was obliged to ſolve them; but it was impoſſible for me to bring ſo many things into a narrower compaſs. If you find my letter too long, I hope you will excuſe it, and pardon me, in conſideration of the ſincere attachment with which I am, &c.

LETTER VII.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

I Muſt own, my dear friend, you preſs me too cloſely; you give me no quarter, be the occaſion ever ſo trifling. To demoliſh any little argument which I thought I had fortified ſufficiently, you immediately raiſe a violent battery againſt my logic, and play with all your force upon it, till my bulwark, entirely overthrown, can no longer be a mark to direct its aim.——You wiſh, you are abſolutely reſolved, that I ſhould love, ſerve, and be attached to my country; and you follow me ſo

tually encourage each other to accompliſh it in the character of a good citizen, attached to his country with that tenderneſs and zeal which it is his duty to poſſeſs.—You laid objections before me, and I was obliged to ſolve them; but it was impoſſible for me to bring ſo many things into a narrower compaſs. If you find my letter too long, I hope you will excuſe it, and pardon me, in conſideration of the ſincere attachment with which I am, &c.

LETTER VII.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

I Muſt own, my dear friend, you preſs me too cloſely; you give me no quarter, be the occaſion ever ſo trifling. To demoliſh any little argument which I thought I had fortified ſufficiently, you immediately raiſe a violent battery againſt my logic, and play with all your force upon it, till my bulwark, entirely overthrown, can no longer be a mark to direct its aim.——You wiſh, you are abſolutely reſolved, that I ſhould love, ſerve, and be attached to my country; and you follow me ſo

cloſe, that I am at a loſs how to eſcape you.—But I recollect having heard of a certain *Encyclopediſt*, who ſays, that the earth is the common habitation of ſuch-like beings as we are; that the philoſopher is a coſmopolitan, and all places are the ſame to him.—I heard, ſome time ago, a man of learning talk on this ſubject, and had great pleaſure in liſtening to him. Whatever he ſaid, inſinuated itſelf with ſo much eaſe into my mind, that it ſeemed as if I myſelf had conceived it. Theſe ideas exalted my ſoul; my vanity was pleaſed with the notion, that by ceaſing to be an obſcure ſubject of a little ſtate, I could in future conſider myſelf as a citizen of the world. I immediately became a Chineſe, an Engliſhman, a Turk, a

Frenchman, a Greek, as it pleaſed my fancy beſt. My imagination traverſed over all theſe nations. I tranſported myſelf now to one, and then to another, and I ſtopped where I found the greateſt entertainment.—But methinks I hear you already—You are again endeavouring to make this agreeable dream which poſſeſſes my mind vaniſh. It would be eaſy for me to diſſipate it, but what ſhould I gain? Such illuſions as pleaſe us, are they not worth much more than the melancholy truths which are repugnant to us? I know how difficult it is to make you change opinions; they are enchained by ſuch profound reaſons, they are rooted in your mind by ſo many arguments, that I ſhould make a fruitleſs attempt to overſet them.

Your life is a perpetual meditation; mine glides thoughtleſs away; I content myſelf with its enjoyment, and leave reflection to others; I am ſatisfied, if I amuſe and divert myſelf. This is what gives you ſo much the advantage, in matters that require intricate diſcuſſion. I ſhall therefore put myſelf in readineſs to ſee you armed with all proper implements to force me out of my laſt intrenchments. I foreſee already, that I muſt ſurrender the ſyſtem of independence, in which I had ſo conveniently lodged myſelf, and that your victorious arguments will oblige me to form a new plan of conduct, more conformable to the duties of my ſtation than that which I have hitherto followed.—But new doubts are inceſ-

ſantly ariſing in my mind. You are the phyſician to whom I entruſt its malady; it is therefore your duty to heal it.—You have talked to me of a ſocial pact; but no one has ever made me acquainted with it.—If there is ſuch a contract, I never ſigned it.—According to you, I have entered into an engagement with ſociety; if I have, I am ignorant of it. You tell me, I have a debt to diſcharge, to whom? To my country. To what amount? when? where is the ſum? who lent it me? I know nothing about it.—For the reſt, I agree with you, that, if every body remained idle and unemployed, our ſpecies would neceſſarily periſh. But this is an imaginary evil, for neceſſity will force the poor to work; and if a

few of the rich are not inclined to it, the conſequence cannot be very great. —According to your principles, every ſoul of ſociety ſhould be in motion, ſhould act and work.—A ſtate of that kind would be a hive, where every bee is employed; one in extracting the juice out of flowers, another preparing honey in the cells, a third in the propagation of the ſpecies, and where idleneſs is looked upon as an unpardonable crime.—You ſee, I go honeſtly to work; I conceal nothing; I lay every doubt before you; I find it difficult to part ſo ſoon with my prejudices, if ſuch they are.—Cuſtom, that imperious miſtreſs of mankind, has modelled me for a certain manner of life, to which I am attached. I may

become more familiar with the new ideas you diſplay to me; I muſt however own, that I ſtill feel ſome repugnance to bend under the yoke which you impoſe upon me.—It will require more than common efforts, to give up my tranquillity and ſubdue my ſloth; and I am frightened at the idea of being inceſſantly plagued with other people's affairs, and troubled with the public welfare. —Ariſtides, Cicero, Themiſtocles, Regulus, are undoubtedly great examples of magnanimity and greatneſs of ſoul, to whom the public has done ſtrict juſtice; but what mighty pains to gain a little glory! – We are told, that Alexander the Great, after one of his victories, exclaimed: O Athenians, if you knew how much it coſts to

gain your praiſe!—Theſe reflections will certainly not eſcape your attention; you will find them too faint, too effeminate. You want a government in which the citizens ſhould be all nerve and energy, all force and action; and I imagine you would not grant reſt to any, but to the infirm, the blind, and the decrepit.—As I am none of theſe, I expect to be condemned. I muſt own, that the ſubject we are treating of, is more extenſive than I at firſt thought. What different branches, what infinite combinations concur to form a body or ſo many members as conſtitute a regular government! We have but few books on this ſubject, and thoſe are full of conſummate pedantry.—You have dived into the bottom of every

thing, and made yourſelf intelligible to me. I am obliged to you for your inſtructions, and nothing remains now to be removed, but the difficulties which I have juſt laid before you.— Proceed, I beg, in the manner you have begun; I look upon you as my maſter, and I glory in being your diſciple. The relation which citizens have to each other, the different bonds and connections which link ſociety together; theſe, and what our ſeveral duties require of us, are inceſſantly at work, and ſo fill my mind, that I hardly think of any thing elſe.— Whenever I ſee a farmer or country-man tilling the ground, I bleſs him for the trouble he is taking for my nouriſhment; if I obſerve a ſhoe-maker, I thank him for the conve-

niencies I derive from him; if a ſoldier paſſes, I offer up my beſt wiſhes for this brave defender of my country.—You have made my heart ſenſible; I now extend the ſentiments of grateful acknowledgment to all my fellow-citizens, but principally to you, who having unfolded to me the nature of my obligations, have thereby procured to me a new pleaſure.—You ſpoke, and an affection for all mankind has filled my ſoul with a divine ſenſation. I am, with the greateſt eſteem, and with a moſt perfect gratitude, &c.

LETTER VIII.

PHILOPATROS TO ANAPISTÆMON.

NO, my dear friend, I wage no war with you; I honor and eſteem you; I ſeparate you from the matter which we treat of, and am only attacking the prejudices and errors which would propagate themſelves from generation to generation, if truth did not endeavour to unmaſk them, to undeceive the world. I obſerve, with extreme ſatisfaction, that you begin to familiariſe yourſelf with ſome of my opinions.—My ſyſtem only tends to the general proſperity of ſociety, and has no other object but

to unite the links which keep the citizens connected cloſer together, to render them more durable.—I only expect what their true intereſt demands equally of them, a ſincere attachment to their country; that they contribute with an equal zeal to the advantage of ſociety; for, the more they ſtrain their efforts, the greater will be their ſucceſs.—But before I proceed, it will be neceſſary for me to remove a new difficulty you ſtart upon the ſubject.—You ſay, you are ignorant of the nature and properties of the ſocial pact or convention. I will tell you: The ſocial covenant was formed by the mutual neceſſity under which mankind labours to aſſiſt each other; and as no community is capable of ſubſiſting without virtuous

manners, it was proper for each citizen to ſacrifice part of his intereſt to his equals; whence it reſults, that if you are unwilling to be deceived, you ſhould deceive no man; if you think yourſelf injured by being robbed, you ſhould not rob another; if you wiſh to be aſſiſted in your neceſſity, you ſhould be always ready to ſerve others yourſelf; if you deteſt idleneſs in others, you ſhould work yourſelf; if you deſire that the ſtate ſhould defend you, you ſhould contribute to the general defence by your money, or rather with your own perſon; if you deſire the public ſafety, you ſhould not diſturb it; and if you deſire that your country ſhould proſper, you ſhould ſtrive to ſerve it to the utmoſt of your power.—You add,

that nobody ever inſtructed, or ſpoke to you of this ſocial covenant.—That is the fault of your parents. Thoſe who had the care of your education, ought not to have neglected ſo important an article; but with very little reflection you might have perceived it yourſelf.—You proceed thus: I do not know what debt I am to diſcharge towards ſociety, and I am at a loſs to know where to find the capital, of which it demands the intereſt.—This capital is yourſelf, your education, your parents, your fortune. This is the capital you are poſſeſſed of, and the intereſt which you owe to ſociety, is, to love your country as you would a parent, and to dedicate all your talents for its benefit.—In making yourſelf uſeful, you acquit

yourſelf of whatever it has a right to exact from you; to which I muſt add this remark, that it is much the ſame, under what kind of government you live, for they are all the work of man, and not one of them is perfect. Your duties are equally the ſame, be it monarchy or republic.—Let us proceed farther.—I recollect that your letter mentions an idea of a certain *Encyclopediſt*, of whom you have heard. —Some years ago we were overwhelmed with their productions. Excepting a ſmall number of good things, and a few truths which are to be met with in them, the remainder appears to me to be a heap of paradoxes, and ideas lightly advanced, which ought to have been duly reviſed and corrected before they were ſub-

mitted to the judgment of the public.—In one ſenſe, it is true that the earth is the habitation of the human ſpecies, as the air is that of birds, the water that of fiſh, and the fire that of the ſalamanders, if there be any.—But it was not worth while to dwell with ſo much emphaſis on ſo trivial a truth.—You ſay likewiſe, that, according to theſe Encyclopediſts, the ſage is a citizen of the world.—I agree with you, if the author means by it, that mankind are to be eſteemed by each other as brethren, and that they ſhould all love one another; but I ceaſe to be of his opinion, if his intention is to make a number of vagabonds; people who, having no employment, run about the world to kill time, become rogues from neceſſity,

and receive at laſt, either in one place or another, the puniſhment due to the diſorderly life they have led.—Such-like ideas eaſily enter and inculcate themſelves into ſhallow heads; the conſequences they produce are always contrary to the welfare of ſociety, as they ever tend to the diſſolution of ſocial union, by imperceptibly extirpating in the minds of the citizens, the zeal and attachment which they owe to their country.—Thoſe *Encyclopediſts* have likewiſe thrown all the ridicule in their power on patriotiſm, ſo much commended by the ancients, and which, from times immemorial, has been the foundation of the nobleſt actions.—They reaſon as pitifully on this ſubject as they do on many others; they will tell you, with all their ſo-

phiſtry, that no ſuch thing as a mother-country exiſts; that it is an airy, chimerical idea of ſome lawgiver, who invented the word in order to govern the eaſier; and that what did not really exiſt, could conſequently not merit our affection.—This is moſt pitiful logic.—They make no diſtinction between what is called, in the ſchool-language, *ens per ſe*, and *ens per aggregationem*; the one ſignifies a ſingle being, as this man, this horſe, that elephant; the other joins many bodies together, and forms a maſs, as the city of Paris, by which its inhabitants are underſtood; an army is a number of ſoldiers; an empire is a numerous aſſociation of people.—Thus may the land in which we are born be called our mother-country.—

This mother-country exiſts therefore in reality, and is not all an imaginary thing; it is compoſed of a multitude of citizens, who all live in the ſame ſociety, under the ſame laws and cuſtoms; and as our intereſts are cloſely united together, we owe it our attachment, our affection, and our ſervices.—What could theſe unmanly, lukewarm people, what could all the *Encyclopediſts* in the world anſwer, ſuppoſing that the mother-country, perſonified, was to preſent herſelf ſuddenly before them, and to addreſs them nearly in the following words? "Ah! ye degenerate and ungrateful "children, indebted to me for your "exiſtence, will ye for ever remain "inſenſible of the favours which I "heap upon you? Whence are your

" anceſtors? It is I who gave them
" birth.—Whence did ye both receive
" your nouriſhment? From my inex-
" hauſtible fecundity; they were in-
" debted to me for their education;
" their eſtates and poſſeſſions are my
" ground, my ſoil. Ye yourſelves were
" created in my womb; in ſhort, ye,
" your parents, your friends, and what-
" ever is deareſt to you in this world,
" it is I who gave them being. My
" tribunals of juſtice protect you againſt
" iniquity; they defend and vindicate
" your rights; they guard your poſ-
" ſeſſions; the policy which I eſta-
" bliſhed, watches for your ſafety;
" when ye walk the town, or ramble
" the fields, ye are equally ſecure
" againſt the ſurpriſe of thieves, and
" againſt the dagger of aſſaſſins; and

" the troops which I ſupport, protect
" you againſt the violence, rapacity,
" and invaſion of our common ene-
" mies. I not only provide againſt
" your neceſſity, but my care extends
" even to the eaſe and convenience
" of your lives. If ye are deſirous
" of inſtruction, ye will find maſters
" of every kind; if deſirous of ren-
" dering yourſelves uſeful, offices and
" employments are waiting for you;
" are ye infirm or unfortunate, my
" affection has provided ſuccour, and
" prepared aſſiſtance: and for all the
" favours which I daily laviſh upon
" you, I demand no other acknow-
" ledgment, than that ye entertain
" a cordial affection for your fellow-
" citizens, and intereſt yourſelves
" with a ſincere attachment in what-

" ever may be of advantage to them.
" —They are my members; they are
" myſelf; ye cannot bear any affec-
" tion for them without loving me.—
" But your obdurate and intractable
" hearts deſpiſe the value of my fa-
" vours; ye ſuffer yourſelves to be
" directed by an unruly madneſs; ye
" are deſirous of living ſeparate and
" abſtracted from ſociety, and of
" breaking the ties which ought to
" bind you to me.—When your coun-
" try is ſtraining every nerve for your
" benefit, will ye do nothing for
" her?—Rebellious againſt all my
" care and anxiety, deaf to all my
" repreſentations, will nothing be
" able to ſoften or move your flinty
" hearts? Reflect—let the advan-
" tages your parents have enjoyed

" melt you! Let your duty and your " gratitude unite! Let your future " conduct towards me be ſuch as " virtue ſhall dictate, and my care " for your glory and honour de- " mand."—As to myſelf, I ſhould inſtantly anſwer: My heart, ſenſibly touched with affection and gratitude, needed not to ſee and hear you, to induce me to love you. I own, I am indebted to you for every thing; I am indiſſolubly and affectionately attached to you; my love and gratitude will not ceaſe but with my life; this very life is your's: ſhould you aſk it from me, I would ſacrifice it with pleaſure; to die for you, is to live for ever in the memory of mankind. I cannot ſerve you without drawing reputation and honour on myſelf.—

Pardon, my dear friend, this flight of enthuſiaſm, which my zeal creates. My whole ſoul is open to you; and why ſhould I ſuppreſs what thus ſenſibly affects me?—Weigh my words; examine into what I have ſaid, and I hope you will agree with me, that there is nothing wiſer or more virtuous than to bear a true affection for one's country.—Let us leave ſuch as are blind and incapable; and as to thoſe who, from age or infirmities, cannot act for the good of ſociety, they ought notwithſtanding to preſerve that affection for their country, which children have for their father; to ſhare its loſſes and ſucceſs, and at leaſt to offer their beſt wiſhes for its proſperity.—If, by our ſituation as men, it is our duty to be beneficent to mankind, much more

does our ſituation as citizens oblige us to be ſerviceable, as much as we poſſibly can, to our fellow-citizens; for they are more nearly related to us than foreigners, with whom we have little or no acquaintance. We live with our fellow-citizens; our manners, cuſtoms, and laws are the ſame; we do not only ſhare with them the air which we breathe, but misfortune and proſperity; and if our country has a right to demand the ſacrifice of our perſons for its defence, much more is it intitled to our beſt and greateſt ſervices; the man of letters, in inſtructing the Public; the philoſopher, in teaching truth; the financier, in faithfully adminiſtering its revenues; the lawyer, in ſacrificing form to equity; the ſoldier, in

defending his country with zeal and courage; the politician, in forming wiſe combinations and juſt arguments; the clergyman, in preaching the pureſt morality; the farmer, the artiſt, the manufacturer, the merchant, in bringing to perfection the article on which each has fixed his peculiar attention.—Every citizen who thinks and acts thus, is working for the public welfare.—Theſe different branches, thus coherent, and tending to the ſame end, produce the proſperity of a ſtate, and the welfare, the duration, and the glory of an empire. This, my dear friend, is what my heart has dictated. I have not written on this ſubject as a profeſſor, for I have not the honour to be a doctor either in degree or

practice; but I converſe with you merely for the ſake of explaining what I mean by the duties, of which an honeſt and faithful citizen ought to acquit himſelf towards his country.—This light ſketch will be ſufficient for you, who are capable of penetrating into the nature of things.—I aſſure you, that I ſhould never have written ſo much, were it not with a deſire to pleaſe, and to obey you. I am, with the ſincereſt attachment, &c.

LETTER IX.

ANAPISTÆMON TO PHILOPATROS.

YOUR laſt letter, my dear friend, has entirely ſilenced me. I am obliged to ſubmit. From this moment I abjure my indolence and ſloth. I quit and diſclaim the Encyclopediſts, and the principles of Epicurus, and I dedicate every day of my life to the benefit of my country. The object I ſhall in future aim at, will be, to become a uſeful citizen, and to imitate in every reſpect your commendable example. I freely own to you my errors; I had contented myſelf with vague ideas; I had neither ma-

turely conſidered, nor ſufficiently dived into this matter; my ignorance had hitherto prevented me from acquitting myſelf of my duties.—It is you who have enlightened me with the torch of truth, and my errors are vaniſhed. I will make amends for the loſt time, by endeavouring to ſurpaſs others in zeal and ardour for the public welfare. I propoſe the greateſt men of antiquity, who have ſignaliſed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, as the model of my conduct; and I ſhall never forget, that it was by your virtuous efforts I had the career opened to me, in which I am now determined to run, in purſuance of your advice.—How ſhall I be able to diſcharge my debt of obligation to you?—At leaſt be

perſuaded, that if any thing can exceed the friendſhip and eſteem I entertain for you, it is only the ſentiments of gratitude with which I ſhall be for ever yours.

LETTER X.

PHILOPATROS TO ANAPISTÆMON.

I AM extremely pleaſed, my dear friend, with your laſt letter. A heart of probity, like yours, is the proper ſoil for receiving the ſeeds of public virtue. I am ſure, that your country will reap from it the moſt plentiful harveſt.—Nature

has depoſited within you every endowment, and there was nothing wanting but to unfold your ſentiments.—If I have been able to contribute to it, I ſhall be vain of my perſuaſive powers; for, to enrich one's country with an able citizen, is of more ſervice than to extend and enlarge its boundaries.

FINIS.